Some Properties of Basque Vocative Clitics

Bill Haddican (CUNY), WCCFL 34

1. Introduction

The neo-performative view of speech-act roles (Speas and Tenny, 2003; Zanuttini, 2008; Miyagawa, 2013; Haegeman and Hill, 2013):

(1) [$_{SpkrP}$ Speaker [$_{AddrP}$ Addressee TP]]

A key piece of evidence for an Addreseee projection comes from "allocutive" languages including Basque, as in (2). Here, we treat these forms as vocatives (Haddican 2014).

(2) a. Etor-tzen   d-u-**k/n**
       come-IMPERF EXPL-AUX-2SG.FAM.M/F
       'He/she/it comes.'   [word-final]

   b. Etorri   z-u-**a/na**-n
       come-FUT EXPL-AUX-2SG.FAM.M/F-PST
       'He/she/it came.'   [word-medial]

These forms also expone thematic addressees:

(3) a. Egin-go d-u-**k/-n**.
       do-FUT EXPL-AUX-2SG.FAM.M/F
       'You (familiar) will do it.'   [word-final]

   b. Eman-go d-i-**a/na**-t.
       give-FUT EXPL-AUX-2SG.FAM.M/F-1SG.ERG
       'I will give it to you.'   [word-medial]

Little work has addressed the morphology of allocutivity, despite its importance for (1) (Albizu (2002), Oyharçabal (1993)).

> ### Goal
> To model two recalcitrant sets of facts concerning Basque vocative agreement markers: (i) their effects on auxilary roots; and (ii) their effect on expletive morphemes.

2. Two problems

2.1 Effects on auxiliary roots.
Basque has a *have/be* alternation (see (4a), (5a)). But, vocative clitics also trigger 'have' in unaccusatives (4a). In transitive contexts, vocative clitics trigger i (5b). This root vowel also appears in non-vocative applicative contexts like (5a).

(4) **Unaccusative auxiliaries: /a/→ /u/**
   a. Eror-i   d-**a**.
       fall-PERF EXPL-AUX('be')
       'It has fallen.'   [without voc. clitic]

   b. Eror-i   d-**u-k**.
       fall-PERF EXPL-AUX('have')-2SG.FAM.M
       'It has fallen.'   [with voc. clitic]

(5) **Monotransitive auxiliaries: /u/→ /i/**
   a. Egin-go d-**u**-te.
       do-FUT EXPL-AUX('have')-3PL.ERG
       'They will do it.'   [without voc. clitic]

   b. Egin-go d-**i**-te-**k**.
       do-FUT EXPL-AUX-3PL.ERG-2SG.FAM.M
       'They will do it.'   [with voc. clitic]

2.2 Effects on expletive morphemes.
In third person absolutive contexts, the leftmost slot is filled by an expletive morpheme, d in present tense contexts and z in the past (1a,b). Vocative clitics also condition expletive exponence, subject to (6).

(6) **Rebuschi's (1984) generalization**: In present tense contexts, the vocative clitic determines z- rather than d- iff it does not trigger a change in the root.

(7) **Ditransitive auxiliaries: no vowel change**
   a. Eman-go **d**-i-o-te.
       give-FUT EXPL-AUX-3SG.DAT-3PL.ERG
       'They will give it to him/her.'   [without voc. clitic]

   b. Eman-go **z**-i-o-te-**k**.
       give-FUT EXPL-AUX-3SG.DAT-3PL.ERG-2SG.FAM.M
   'They will give it to him/her.'   [with voc. clitic]

3. A clitic analysis

Aux morphemes marking person are clitics (Laka, 1993; Albizu, 2002). Expletives satisfy an EPP property of Fin. The final *-n* in past forms (2b) is a past-complementizer in Fin (Arregi and Nevins, 2012).

(8) **Clitic landing sites**
[$_{FinP}$ **Abs/Expl** Fin [$_{AddrP}$ **Voc** Addr [$_{TP}$ **Erg** T [$_{AuxP}$ . . .]]]]

These heads and associated clitics will form auxiliaries through successive head adjunction (to the left). Clitics raise to the spec of their hosts and then undergo "m-merger"—adjoining to head (Matushansky 2006).

(9) **Cliticization & head movmt. derive morph. order**
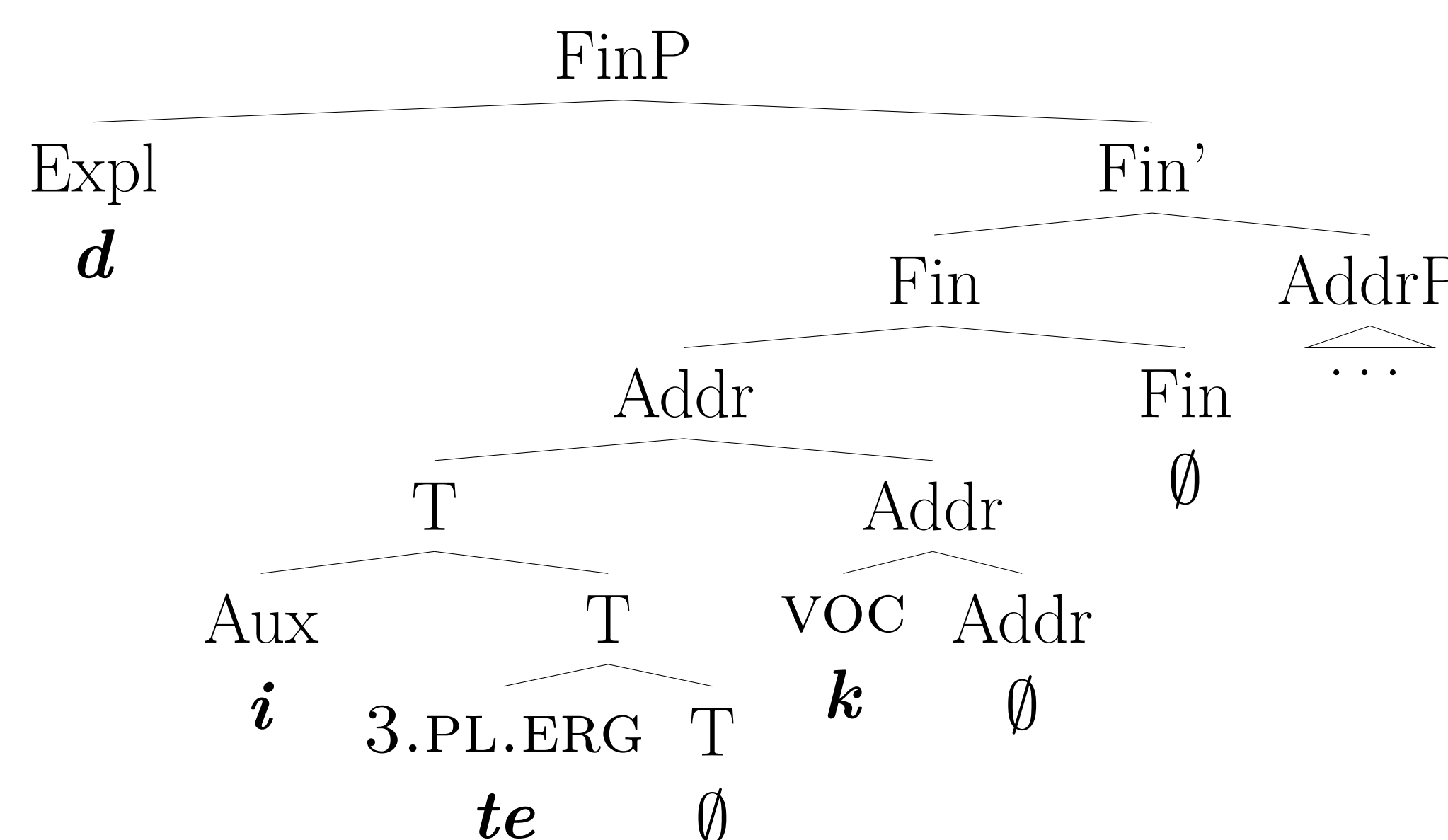
The **Obligatory Case Parameter** (for ergative languages) holds that if one source of structural case is needed, this will be the lower probe "v"; if a second is needed, this will be "T" (Bobaljik, 1993; Laka, 1993). This means T will be the source of case for the vocative clitic (probing after T raises to Addr). This now suggests:

(10) **have/be *in Basque:*** 'have' appears when T is a probe; 'be' appears otherwise (cf. D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010).

The fact that vocatives trigger [i] in transitives suggests that Addr is a species of applicative head, capable of supplying an extra source of case when needed. Applicative [i] inserted only in the presence of case-assigning T and Appl heads.

(11) Aux ↔ [i] ___ [T*, Applicative*]

Vocative clitics determine expletive z when no root change is available. Assume probing of vocative clitic by T* or Addr/Appl* is blocked here, and it is instead probed by Fin. In past tense contexts, it presumably agrees with the past tense value on T. What the expletive z of past tense contexts and Rebuschi's generalization contexts have in common, then, is that Fin is a probe. Thus:

(12) Expletives in spec, FinP spell out as z when Fin is a probe.

4. Ergative displacement

(13) Ikus-i   **n**-u-en.
      see-PERF 1SG.ERG-ROOT-PST
      'I saw him/her/it.'

(14) **Ergative displacement**
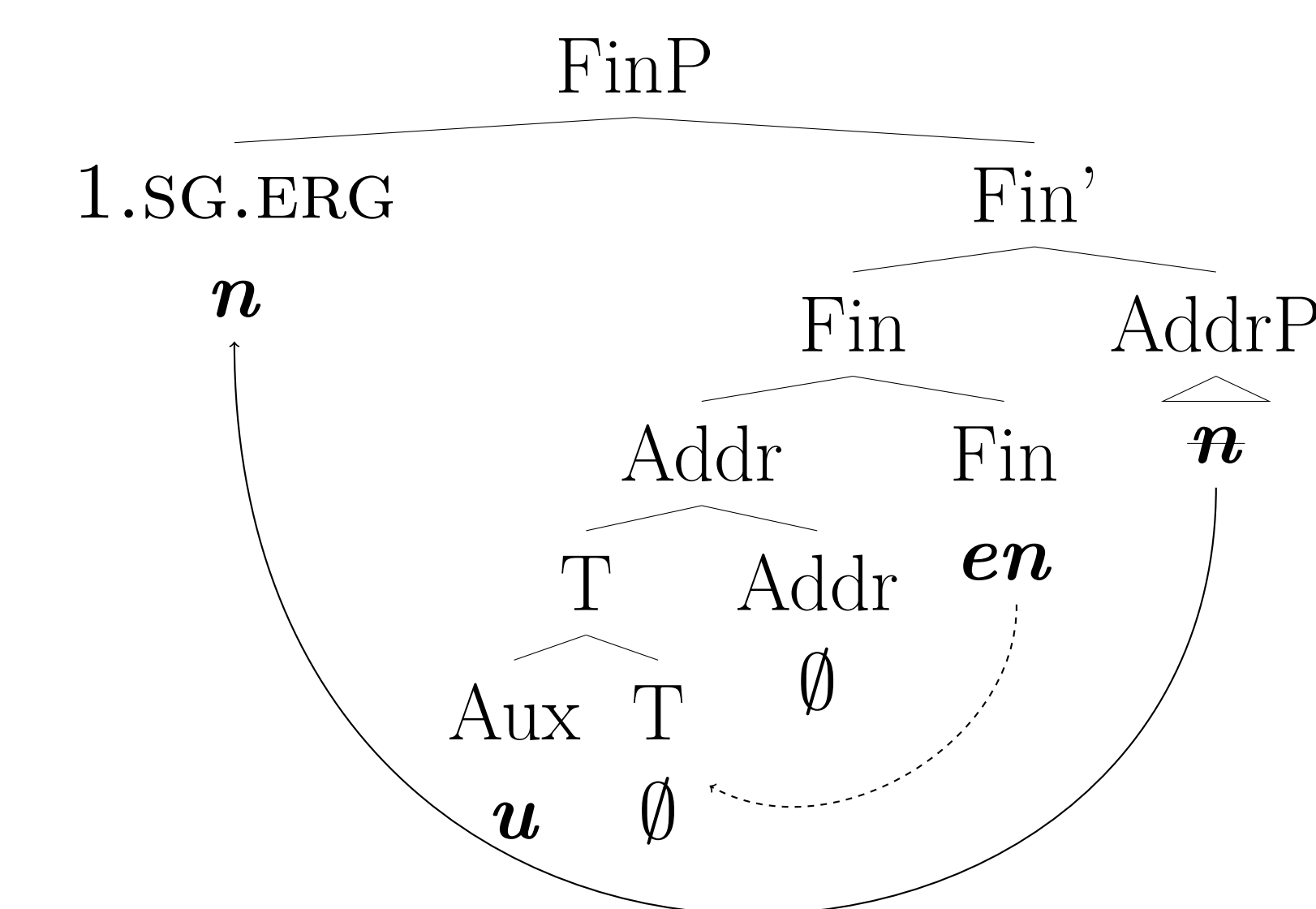
Ergative clitics move to first position: (i) in past contexts; (ii) when the ergative is first or second person, and (iii) there is no absolutive clitic. The past tense restriction suggests the relationship between Fin and T is important. **Proposal:** By virtue of agreement between Fin and T (in past tense) contexts, Fin acquires the features that make it a potential clitic host for ergative clitics.

> ### Conclusions
> - An approach to Basque vocative morphemes as clitics helps model several morphological properties of these constructions.
> - The analysis suggests a new approach to second position effects in Basque auxiliaries as well as ergative displacement.